against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or cowardice. This may be seen from one of the more recent complaints:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered capable to live. My friend once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very beautiful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The smuggler reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but exists to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

[1] Bowyer, 1913, p. 193.

officers against a conscription law, because obviously is not taxed.

The census officer and an assistant have an office in the serai, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a Herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future.

Finally, the serai houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Rowandiz being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food refused to kreat and soup, and the regular enlisted personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-cornered ensign flattering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for to barrios drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Westerner has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

another one of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Kurds Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organizations, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of makes arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlukha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

7:1 usually called *silleman*-, owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the arms that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1930, swords and lances were still employed.

7:2 When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — just like soldiers are trained. The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of *silleman*, and generally a present from the *Agha* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

7:3 The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the *sillemen* of the village as short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Then a warparty was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose were not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of *sillemen* to ride in a body to the village and offer the inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was settled in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

7:4

17

Government responsibility among the tribes. May describes the predicament of his chief as "between ruthless wicked breaking out wicked principles, they want their authority to remain honourable wicked".

Below the Bakir there should be in each village a Bukkum, the functions being basically those of magistrate and tax collector. Among the hill Kuki the Bukkum is invariably the head of the village concerned and the two in Lorbie each.

This summarises briefly the normal functions of the various elements of Government within the area under discussion. A more dynamic view of the interaction between Government and tribe will emerge in the course of later Volumes.

702. Iraq has had conscription since 1934. Since and nominally all Kurds are liable for military service. It is part of the duties of the Mukhtar to record births and report to the Kaim the names of those liable for service. Until very recently however no real records have been kept, as to avoid military service it was usually necessary to produce suitable presents for the right people at the right moment. Contemporary military service provides the Agha with a convenient means of getting rid of undesirable characters. That at least summarises the position as outlined to me by my interpreter. But I obtained no figures as to the actual numbers conscripted.